

JOCHELSON, THE KORYAK.

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it, or on a rock over the sea. It is put up by the founder of the "habitation," that is, by the one who erects the first house, and is passed by inheritance to the descendants of the founder. As a rule, new settlements were founded by "strong men," heroes. Around the first house, and under his protection, weaker people would settle, usually his relatives by blood or by marriage; and the "guardian of the habitation" would become the common guardian of the settlement. As the latter grew, some of the house-owners would put up habitation-guardians of their own, which were, however, only family guardians. The general guardianship of the settlement belongs to the first guardian erected by the founder. It serves as the intermediary between the inhabitants of the village and the rulers of the sea and of the hunting-grounds. The lower part of the guardian-figure is girded with sacrificial sedge-grass. When the hunt of sea-animals, wild reindeer, and mountain-sheep, is over, the charm is smeared with the blood and the fat of the animals. The top of the charm, from the constant application of fat, turns black, and looks as though it were charred. The charm is also offered sacrifices of horns and antlers of animals killed in the hunt, and whale-vertebrae. On Plate XII, Fig. 1, a photograph is reproduced of the old guardian of the settlement of Kuel, surrounded with sacrifices. The priestly duties in relation to the guardian of the settlement are performed by a descendant of the founder, usually the eldest in the family. He smears the charm with fat, "feeds" it, and adorns it with sacrificial grass. In a year of successful hunt, the charm is sometimes offered a dog as a sacrifice. Fig. 4, represents one of the guardians of the village Big-Itkana, with a slaughtered dog near the charm. In the same village I saw a pup strung up as a sacrifice on the wooden kamak (okkamak) itself (see Plate IX, Fig. 1). The charm was a secondary guardian, the protector of one family, and consisted of a forked branch of a large willow-tree stuck into the ground. The village guardians differ in size, while the guardian of Big-Itkana (Fig 4) is about six feet high, that of Kuel (Plate XII, Fig. 1) is not over two feet.



Fig. 4. Guardian of the Village Big-Itkana, with Sacrificed Dog
(From a photograph.)

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III. — HABITAT AND VILLAGES.

WANDERING-PLACES OF THE REINDEER KORYAK. — At the present time, 131
Reindeer Koryak are found mainly in two of the four districts into which,
for administrative purposes, the Russians have divided the northeastern part
of the Maritime Province; namely, in the Gishiga and Kamchatka districts.
Only five families were found in the Anadyr district, while in the Okhotsk
district but a few men were left.

The greater part of the Reindeer Koryak roam over the Gishiga district. 233
They keep to the interior of the country, and frequent mainly elevated,
treeless tundras covered with lichen. During severe frosts they come down
to the valleys, where the trees offer protection from the winds, and supply
fuel for their fires. In summer the Reindeer Koryak ascend with their herds
to the summits or high mountain slopes. The winds that blow freely there,
the low temperature, and the never-melting snow of the gorges and ravines,
free those locations from mosquitoes, which in summer are so abundant in
low and woody places. For the same reason the Chukchee of the extreme
north drive their herds in summer to the open tundras of the cold shores
of the Arctic Ocean.

The Reindeer Koryak usually wander in groups consisting of a few 621
families. There are no definite boundaries between the wandering-places of
the various groups. It sometimes happens that separate families wander far
from their native places, leaving the groups to which they originally belonged
for one reason or another; as, for instance, on account of quarrels, lack of
pastures in the old places for their reindeer, or the establishment through
marriage of new family ties. I met families on the Palpal Mountains whose
native place was on the Taigonos Peninsula, while, on the other hand, among
the Taigonos Koryak there are people who have come from the Far East.
According to Patkanov's statement, some members of the Opuka Reindeer
Koryak are found on the Gishiga River, and a few families of the Gishiga
Reindeer Koryak wander on the Palpal Mountains. On the whole, every
group has its own wandering-places, though the limits are not well defined.
Within this region, single families, or small groups of families, have their
chosen places where they spend certain seasons of the year.

Thus the Reindeer Koryak form territorial groups. For purposes of 651
taxation the majority of these groups are called "clans" (Роды) by the Russian 619
Administration, and the tribute levied on them was formerly paid off in furs
only, but at present they are at liberty to pay either in money or in furs.
Elders are appointed for each of these clans. The Koryak themselves do

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38. Kultusnoye (Ijir), by the census of 1859, had 122 persons (119 men, 103 women). According to the report of the governor of the Maritime Province (1898), there were twelve underground houses with 144 inhabitants (66 men, 78 women). In the data of Mr. Bogoras (1901), only eleven underground houses are indicated, and three camps, or 25 nomads, belonging to the Ijir village. 162 361

39. Tiltiran or Tilechiki had 57 inhabitants (30 men, 27 women) according to the data of 1859, 98 (51 men, 47 women) according to the report of the governor of 1898, and only 42 persons according to Mr. Bogoras (1901).

40. Vetvey had 20 inhabitants (11 men, 9 women) according to the data of 1859, 10 (6 men, 4 women) according to those of 1898. In the data of Mr. Bogoras (1901) only three underground houses are indicated.

41. Vivnik had 88 inhabitants (53 men, 35 women) according to the data of 1859, 102 (59 men, 43 women) according to the report of the governor (1898), with eight underground houses, while according to Mr. Bogoras (1901), there were only four underground houses with one camp of nomadic people belonging to this village.

42. Kitchin consisted, according to the data of 1859, of 145 persons (81 men, 64 women); according to the report of the governor of the Maritime Province (1898), of 170 persons (95 men, 75 women) with fifteen underground houses; and, according to Mr. Bogoras (1901), of 113 sedentary persons with 12 camps or 120 persons of nomadic people belonging to the village.

43. Timlati is not mentioned in the census of 1859. According to the governor's report (1898), this village had 48 persons, while Mr. Bogoras found seven underground houses there, but he does not indicate the number of people.

In comparing the different data concerning the Alutor Koryak, we may draw the conclusion that the data of Mr. Bogoras are incomplete, and therefore we cannot say in how far the number of the Alutor Koryak has diminished since the census of 1897 and older data.

Petropavlovsk District. — The Maritime Koryak of this district are Russianized, like the Kamchadal. The official reports do not divide them now into clans, as they do arbitrarily with the Koryak of other districts. Even the groups of Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district are at present often designated in official reports as "nomadic communities" (номадские общества), and not as clans (покры). The census of 1897 indicates every settlement of the Maritime Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district as a "village community" (сельское общество) by itself, in the Russian sense of this word. Thus, concerning the sedentary Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district, we have to do only with an enumeration of villages, and not of clans. The villages Nos. 44-49 are on Bering Sea, and Nos. 50-54 on the Sea of Okhotsk. 621 ●

44. Karagha (Koryak Qare'im). According to the statistical report of the governor of the Maritime province (1898), this village had 168 inhabitants 361 162

342 Fig. 2) had six sleeping-tents for thirty people. Among them were eleven
571 persons not related to him, — herdsmen and their families.

34L The difference between the summer and winter tents is in the quality of the cover. For winter it is made of better and heavier skins. All holes and openings in it are sewed up and covered over, and the snow is piled up all around the tent. The inner tent for summer is made of old skins with the hair clipped short. Among some Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula I saw inner tents made of dressed reindeer-skins, like those of the Tungus.

To my mind, the Koryak tent with its inner sleeping-place appears to be a compromise between the tent of the Asiatic nomads and the snow-house of the Eskimo. The inner tent is illuminated and partly heated by a lamp fed with reindeer-fat, like the oil-lamp of the Eskimo house; while the hearth of the outer tent is intended for cooking mainly.

• 621 Except on particular occasions, when Reindeer Koryak assemble in numbers, either for purposes of trade or for the celebration of festivals, a camp (ya'mk'n, "people," the Koryak term for a camp of Reindeer people) is seldom composed of more than three tents. At least, I have never seen any more populous camps. A camp (see Plate xxi, Fig. 2) is usually composed of families, or groups of families, connected by ties of kinship (by blood or by marriage); or of a wealthy reindeer-owner and the families of his herdsmen; or of families not at all related to one another, but who, for the convenience of common pasture-grounds and the supervision of the herd, have combined their small herds.

621 The camp does not move from place to place as frequently as the Arctic nomads are supposed to do. There are four main removals during the year.
221 Towards winter, in October, they put up their tents in the river-valleys, under the protection of high banks, among poplar and aspen groves. In spring, at the end of March, before the fawning-period begins, they descend into the open tundras of the lower courses of rivers, which are covered with lichen. In summer, in the month of July, they ascend the mountains to be near the river-sources. In the fall, at the time of the fawn festival, they return from the ridges to the elevated tundras of the watersheds and the river-valleys.

Other removals depend upon special causes; for instance, the exhaustion of pasturage, the prevalence of an epidemic among the people, or of some disease that attacks the reindeer; and sometimes the removal is for purposes of trade.

722 In olden times, according to tales of the Koryak, when an attack by a hostile neighbor was anticipated, and also during the wars with the Russians, the camps were surrounded by sledges, and the reindeer were driven inside of this fortified camp.

MARITIME KORYAK. — Like the tent of the Reindeer people, the dwelling of the Maritime Koryak is called, besides li'ge-yan ("genuine house"), also yaya'ri.

34.3 Fig. 1), three stakes are driven at each corner of an elongated rectangle. These stakes meet at the top, thus forming tripods. Two long cross-beams, the long sides of the platform, are placed on top of these tripods, and are supported in two or three places by additional posts. Across these long beams, and tied to them with thongs, four or five cross-pieces are laid at equal distances from one another. These are supported in the middle by posts on which rests the platform, which is made of long stakes or of split logs. The storehouse is placed in the middle of such a platform. It is in the form of a gable-roof. Two logs or rafters, the upper ends of which are so tied together as to form an acute angle, are placed three or four metres distant from two other logs tied in like manner. The two angles are connected by a ridge-pole. From the ridge down, on each side, poles are placed. All the spaces between the poles are carefully filled with hay. To give greater firmness to the sloping sides of the storehouse, heavy logs are leaned against them, reaching up to the ridge. The two ends are formed by stakes put in a somewhat slanting position. Into one of the sloping sides facing the ladder, a frame is put, in which a door swings on wooden hinges. The platform around the storehouse is fenced in. For this purpose, long stakes (four or six on each side) are driven into the ground around the longer sides of the platform. These stakes are as high as the ridge of the storehouse. To keep them from moving, they are fastened in notches in the cross-beams of the platform. Through holes in the upper part of the stakes, above the platform, rails are put, which form the fence. The part of the platform where the ladder is placed is not fenced in. The fence around the platform is for the safety of women and children. Fish, nets, skins, and other household articles, are often hung on it. The ladder for getting to the platform is like the one used for entering the house; but it is put in a slanting position, so that it is easier to get up to the platform than to get out of the house. When leaving the winter house for a summer village, or *vice versa*, the storehouse ladder is removed and put on the platform.

417 Poles are often fastened under the platform for hanging up clothes; and during the summer rains, fish are hung there to dry.

36.1 The settlements of Maritime Koryak (n'mnim, na'mnam, ne'mnem, or ne'mnem) often consist of but one house, as the settlements on the Tilqai River, or those on the Poqač River, or those of the Kerek; but sometimes they form villages of considerable size. For instance, in Kamenskoye there are about thirty houses inhabited during winter. From a distance this settlement, with its storm-roofs and its many storehouses scattered on all sides, gives one the impression of a large though singular town. In the settlement Kuel there are from thirteen to fifteen inhabited houses in the summer, and seven or eight in winter. The peculiar impression made by these villages is shown in the view of Kuel given on Plate xxiii, Fig. 2.

223 is said that reindeer catch mice. I myself saw reindeer in our train eagerly seize the skin and other refuse of dried fish that had been thrown away by the drivers.

223 As I said before, the Reindeer Koryak do not like to roam about without their families;¹ but at certain seasons the herds wander far from camp, and 22.1 compel the herdsman to follow them. This happens in winter, especially when the weather is exceedingly cold, and in summer, when communication by sledge is interrupted. The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak then remains fixed in one place for two or three months; while the herd, after eating all the lichens near by, gradually moves farther away. The herdsmen at that time undergo great privations. In winter, food can be brought from the camp to the pasture in sledges, and the sleeping-tent can be transported in the same way; but in summer the herdsmen have to carry their food, bedding, teapots, and kettles. The herd is especially restless in the summer when annoyed by mosquitoes, and the herdsmen must watch day and night lest the reindeer scatter in all directions. Usually the old men, old women, and little children spend the summer on the bank of some river, fishing; while the other members of the camp, including ten-year-old boys and girls, wander about with the herd, assisting the herdsmen.

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[857] 462 SLEDGE AND HARNESS. — Plate XXIV, Fig. 1, represents the owner of a camp in a light sledge, about to leave his old camp; and Fig. 2 represents the front part of the train, ready for departure. The first sledge is occupied by one of the wives of the owner. Then follow other sections of the train. The rear is brought up by the herd with the herdsmen and grown-up boys. Some of them walk, while others drive in sledges drawn by a pair of reindeer or by one reindeer, and in which they ride to round up stray reindeer, and keep them with the herd.

This picture was taken early in April, and, as it shows, most of the reindeer still had their antlers, with the exception of the one in front, whose antlers were sawed off so that the woman could manage it more easily. Some of the reindeer had already cast one of their antlers. The males commence to cast the antlers at the end of November; but the geldings,² yearlings, and the barren does, cast their antlers in the month of April. Pregnant does cast their antlers from three to ten days after delivery.

233 Plate XXV, Fig. 1, represents the camp of a not very wealthy Reindeer 621 Koryak in spring. The herd, consisting of four hundred reindeer, was rounded up to be moved with the camp to another place. The camp consisted of two tents, housing five families, including the owner of the herd,

¹ See p. 480.

² Brehm (Vol. III, p. 453, of the Russian translation) says that "the antlers of castrated reindeer always remain in the same position; that is, they preserve them if they happen to be castrated at a time the antlers were on, or they remain without antlers if they happen to be castrated just at the time they cast their antlers." No information is vouchsafed as to when the observation was made; but the error is probably due to the fact that geldings usually cast their antlers much later than normal bucks.

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233 his relatives, and herdsmen. Between the Koryak tents my own little tent was
 621 pitched. To move the entire camp required from forty to forty-five sledges. The moving of the camp of the Taigonos chief — who has a herd of five thousand reindeer, twelve herdsmen with their families, and three large tents — requires not less than a hundred and fifty sledges. The train is made up as follows: —

484 First comes the owner in a light sledge drawn by a pair of racing-rein-
 28 deer. He drives fast, and leaves the train far behind. On the way he looks
 492 up pastures, and selects a halting-place. The sledges, loaded with household goods and tent-furnishings, each drawn by one reindeer, are conducted by women. One woman leads a train of seven or eight sledges. The first sledge, in which the woman-driver is sitting, is pulled by a gentle reindeer, usually one that belongs to the woman. This sledge is followed by a covered sledge for children. Next come sledges with clothing, dishes, provisions, bedding, and the tent-covers. The last sledge drags behind it the poles of the tent, since no reindeer follow it. The transportation of the driving-sledges is effected by placing them on top of the baggage in the freight-sledges.

233 Plate xxv, Fig. 2, shows a doe just after delivery (May 7), with the antlers still on.

493 A description of sledges and the points of distinction between the different kinds — such as racing-sledges, driving-sledges (men's and women's), family sledges, freight-sledges, and sledges for carrying the poles of tents — has been given by Mr. Bogoras.¹ Koryak sledges are in no way different from those of the Chukchee. The plan of construction is as follows: —

Instead of straight stanchions there is a series of arches or ribs, the ends of which fit into sockets in the runners, to which they are tied by means of leather strips passing through holes. On these arches, which stand upright and are parallel to one another, a long rectangular frame is placed, having longitudinal and transverse bars forming a grating. The frame is attached to the arches by means of thongs. In racing and riding sledges, these gratings are used as seats. In freight-sledges there is an upright grating all around, and a horizontal grating forms the bottom of the body of the sledge. As in the case of the Chukchee, the riding-sledge of the woman is somewhat larger than that of the man.

The dimensions of the riding-sledges which I collected on my expedition are as follows: —

	<i>Man's Sledge.</i>	<i>Woman's Sledge.</i>
Length	216 cm.	228 cm.
Width	39 "	46 "
Height	28 "	37 "
Weight	17.5 lbs.	25 lbs.

¹ Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 89-92.

769 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange
587 families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a
deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter
the new-born child; and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered
by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative
of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings
nearer, not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the
587 guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new
182 marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister,
582 if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only
in every-day life, but also in myths.¹ In my opinion, the Koryak levirate
has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a
widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is
married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the
family union which has been interrupted by death.

621 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of
582 kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family
even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the
match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search
of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of
neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the
village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going
there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased
wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?"
I asked. "I can," he replied: "but the union between my family and the
family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives
of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

587 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object
182 the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union
is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other
family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in
peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged
war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage
formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into
a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of
the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

582 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through
587 intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters
in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with
each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

¹ See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 226, 250, 252, 254, 257, 267, 305, 306.

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

ANCIENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil

771 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such
609 magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.¹

784 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the
609 outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house, to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

[771] These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak," as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versa*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere
174 territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

¹ See Part I, p. 32.

² See p. 407.

tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone, but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the elder. The sacred post¹ erected by him was regarded as the guardian of the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors. What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement² was the concern of all its inhabitants. I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal character of the whale festival.³ It is very probable that in ancient times special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In describing the whale festival⁴ I pointed out that the celebrations took place in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak who had come to the fair.⁵ In one myth⁶ we are told that in the centre of the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving

¹ See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37.

² Ibid., p. 71.

³ See p. 563.

⁴ See p. 451; also Plate XIX, Fig. 2.

⁵ See Part I, p. 67.

⁶ See Part I, p. 314, No. 114.

In Kuel the only season when fire, as well as the drum, cannot be taken to another house, is the winter, obviously for the reason that the fire and the drum as family protectors are most needed in winter, when the kalau most frequently visit human habitations. The Reindeer Koryak on the Ti'lqai have abandoned all taboos referring to the fire and to the drum. The Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal have no interdict against taking the drum to another house; the fire, however, they allow to be carried to the houses of relatives only. On the Taigonos, ordinary fire may be taken to another house, but not the sacred fire obtained by drilling.

The skin boat, in all non-Russianized villages, still forms part of the family cult, and it can belong to but one family.¹ The sacrificial grass and the alder-branches which are hung on the frame of the skin boat when it is put away for the winter, must not be taken to another house.² In spring, when the seal-skin cover is again put on the boat-frame, and the skin boat is made ready for the sea, the possessor of the boat burns the sacrificial grass and the branches at his hearth.

Russian influence has, on the other hand, also hampered the development of some social factors, or has given them a new direction. Owing to increased security, the tendency to form unions between settlements, camps, and other groups, for the purpose of protection against enemies, has disappeared.

In the concluding chapter I shall give a short history of the conquest and final subjection of the Koryak by the Russians. Here I will speak of the present social standing of the so-called "elders" (Russian, *starosta* [староста]). The obligations of the non-Russianized Koryak to the Russian Administration consist in the payment of a tribute called *yasak*, and in free transportation given by them to Russian officials. Mail also used to be carried without pay, but recently the Government has fixed a fee for its transportation. To enforce the duties imposed on the natives, men responsible for them had to be appointed. For this purpose the Koryak were divided into "clans" (Russian, *ro'dy* [роды, *sing.* родъ]).³ These were purely territorial groups, lacking the ties of common origin; and the name "clans" given to them is quite artificial. For instance, some settlement of the Maritime Koryak, or a group of Reindeer Koryak camping within the limits of a certain locality, were called clans. At the present time these clans have ceased to be even territorial groups; for, since the lists of families belonging to this or that group were first compiled, many families have moved to another settlement or migrated to another locality. The officials mistook the loose social structure of the Koryak for a fully developed social organization, like that of other Siberian peoples (the Yakut or Tungus, for instance), whose elders were elected by the members of the clan or occupied hereditary positions. The territorial groups of the

¹ See Part I, p. 41; p. 747. ² See Part I, p. 78; and Plate VII, Fig. 1, opp. p. 80. ³ See pp. 433-443.

648 Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or
621 by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and
strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the
elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural
heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been
648 accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of
622 the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability,
623 the others give him their support. The results of these elections are commu-
nicated to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks.
The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing
in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally
remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. Among the
[556] Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The
elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instruc-
tions of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

648 The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters;
622 he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and super-
intends the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the
visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants
of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who
live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom
furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the
duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish
their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out
in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The
Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

622 During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily
626 suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase
of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within
the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is
checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the inter-
ference of a recognized authoritative power.

626 Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals
and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on
177 the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude
occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however,
the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity,
and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital
energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

622 It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is
177 not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

"The Wandering Koraks of Kamtchatka, who are divided into about forty different bands, roam over the great steppes in the northern part of the peninsula, between the 58th and 63rd parallels of latitude. Their southern limit is the settlement of Tigil, on the west coast, where they come annually to trade, and they are rarely found north of the village of Penzhina, two hundred miles from the head of the Okhotsk Sea. Within these limits they wander almost constantly with their great herds of reindeer, and so unsettled and restless are they in their habits, that they seldom camp longer than a week in any one place. This, however, is not attributable altogether to restlessness or love of change. A herd of four or five thousand reindeer will in a very few days paw up the snow and eat all the moss within a radius of a mile from the encampment, and then, of course, the band must move to fresh ground. Their nomadic life, therefore, is not entirely a choice, but partly a necessity, growing out of their dependence upon the reindeer. They must wander or their deer will starve, and then their own starvation follows as a natural consequence. Their unsettled mode of life probably grew, in the first place, out of the domestication of the reindeer, and the necessity which it involved of consulting first the reindeer's wants; but the [182] restless, vagabondish habits thus produced have now become a part of the Korak's very nature, so that he could hardly live in any other way, even had he an opportunity of so doing."

"This wandering, isolated, independent existence has given to the Koraks all those characteristic traits of boldness, impatience of restraint, and perfect self-reliance, which distinguish them from the Kamtchadals and the other settled inhabitants of Siberia. Give them a small herd of reindeer, and a moss steppe to wander over, and they ask nothing more from all the world. They are wholly independent of civilization and government, and will neither submit to their laws nor recognize their distinctions. Every man is a law unto himself as long as he owns a dozen reindeer; and he can isolate himself, if he so chooses, from all human kind, and ignore all other interests but his own and his reindeer's. For the sake of convenience and society they associate themselves in bands of six or eight families each; but these bands are held together only by mutual consent, and recognize no governing head."

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Koryak

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Maritime

"The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all Northeastern Siberia. They do not number more than three or four hundred, and live in five different settlements along the sea-coast; but they made us more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamtchatka together. They led, originally, a wandering life like the other Koraks; but, losing their deer by some misfortune or disease, they built them-[233]selves houses of drift-wood on the sea-coast, settled down, and now gain a scanty subsistence by fishing, catching seals, and hunting for carcasses of whales which have been killed by American whaling vessels, stripped of blubber, and then cast ashore by the sea. They are cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. Everything which the Wandering Koraks are, they are not."

The Koryaks

R65

relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks. Thus, related families of Alyutortay combined in summertime for common fishing. The catch was divided equally among them. Their sea hunting was also collective. From seven to eight persons went out to hunt together. On returning to the village, they divided the meat and fat of the seals killed during the hunt in equal shares among all the residents of the village; only the skin of the bearded or common seal went to the man who killed it. Kamentay also shared equally the meat and fat of the seal they hunted in common, but sometimes the owner of the boat took a larger share.

The reindeer-breeding Alyutortay also combined into 4-6 kindred families, which nomadized and herded their deer in common. These were productive associations of a temporary nature, similar to the temporary associations of fishermen and sea hunters.

According to 18th-19th-century data, the coastal Koryak family was already economically self-sufficient at that time. Individual families owned boats, nets, and traps, which they were free to use at their own discretion, down to selling them to other families. But there were also cases where nets belonged collectively to related families.

Even by the time of the Revolution, social inequality was not sharply expressed among the coastal Koryaks. They lived predominantly in a subsistence, consumption economy, with fur as the only commodity for sale.

The situation among the Chavchuvens was quite different. Even in the early part of the 18th century, Krasheninnikov wrote about the wealth of individual reindeer-breeders. Thus, already there was sharp property differentiation among the reindeer-breeders at that time. The process of stratification became still more intensified in the 19th century in connection with the development of trade.

At the time of the Revolution, there were among the reindeer-breeders men of great wealth, who owned herds of thousands of reindeer. On the other hand, there were householders owning only 10-15 reindeer and therefore compelled to work for the rich as herdsmen. Very often, distant relatives of the owners also became herdsmen; in such cases, family relations served as a cover for the usual exploitation.

In exchange for his hard labor in tending the reindeer, the herdsman received from his master only meat for his food and skins for his clothing, with the quantity of the compensation dependent entirely on the will of the master. The encampment of the rich Koryak usually included several families of herdsmen entirely dependent on their master economically and subject to his will in everything. The herdsmen could not kill a reindeer for food without the master's permission, and therefore often went hungry. In addition to tending reindeer, they performed a variety of other tasks: prepared firewood, brought water, hunted fur animals. The rich reindeer-breeder disposed of the labor of the herdsman's family as well. The herdsman's wife and daughters processed the reindeer skins for the master, made thread of reindeer sinew, sewed clothing and boots of reindeer-skins, etc. It was difficult for a herdsman to leave his master. Although custom permitted the changing of masters (in the fall, when the season began), in reality this was difficult to accomplish. The chief obstacle was the "debts" which the herdsman had managed to incur with his master: during the year he obtained from the latter small quantities of tea, sugar, flour, cartridges, etc. The master was not bound to provide imported goods; he merely had to "feed" his herdsmen. For a year's work, the herdsman received a female reindeer. As a rule, each herdsman owned 5-6, and only occasionally 10 or more, reindeer, earned by several years of hard labor. Naturally, with such a small number of reindeer it was impossible to live independently.

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